

palestine perspectives

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No Peace Without the Palestinians

The Camp David Summit ended September 18 in a grotesque display of hugging and kissing not seen since the days of *Pillow Talk*, and in a descent into the most blatant sell-out of the historic rights of a people long exiled, persecuted and occupied.

Now we know what we have suspected all along. That the United States, despite its professed claims to seek peace in the Middle East, had set out to gratify Zionist aims of a separate treaty with Egypt, thereby weakening the Arab nation's political and tactical resources and enabling the leaders of the Zionist entity in Palestine to dictate its *faits accomplis* with impunity. This in turn, with the Arab world divided among itself, will facilitate America's Big Power designs for the region.

We also know that Menachem Begin, former head of the Urgun Gang, was able, this time around, to pull a fast one on the hapless Sadat.

The so-called Camp David framework for peace, with its meandering statements that seem to be saying something weighty when they are saying absolutely nothing, is an extraordinary feat of dissembling. It is merely a framework for the resolution of the territorial dispute between Egypt and the Zionist entity in Palestine — a peripheral component of the Arab-Israeli dispute at best. It not only ignores the Palestinians, but in fact is a blueprint for the perpetuation of Israeli occupation of Palestinians and their lands through the old racist concept of "self-rule."

The Camp David accords then miss being, only by a thin point or two, a total declaration of war on the Palestinian people.

Very simply, one learns from the accords and especially from subsequent statements made by the former Urgun Gangster following the conclusion of the Summit, that the Palestinians can not establish a state of their own. Their elected representatives, the Palestine Liberation Organization, are not to be party to present or future negotiations. Old colonies established by Jewish settlers in the West Bank/Gaza are to remain in place and new ones will be established following the three months needed for an Egyptian-Zionist treaty. The Palestinians can not hope for total freedom, sovereignty and independence — even in the mere 21 per cent of their land in the West Bank/Gaza — at any time in the future. The Palestinian part of Jerusalem will not be returned to its people. Israeli occupation forces will remain indefinitely in the area and occupation functionaries will remain the arbitrators of the political, social and economic destiny of the Palestinians in the region. The Palestinians ultimately may get "self-government," shared with Israel and Jordan, to run their administrative chores. The Palestinians may become "Israeli" or "Jordanian" citizens. And finally, Palestinians living outside the West Bank/Gaza may just have to vanish into thin air. (Menachem Begin, the Polish immigrant to Palestine, said in Washington in an interview with John Chancellor of NBC that "We may allow some of them, just a few, to live there.")

The interesting thing about all of this nonsense is that it is all offered in seriousness, and with a straight face.

The Camp David Summit was not a tragedy, to the extent that it ignored Palestinian rights; so much as it was a force, to the extent that the summit participants must have truly assumed that they could impose such a solution on the Palestinians and make it work. Other similar summits, now totally forgotten by everybody and found only as footnotes in Palestinian history books, have in the past sixty years set out to sell out the Palestinians — from the Peel



Palestinian delegation at Damascus summit: Habash, Arafat, Hawakneh in National Unity.

Commission in the 1930's to U.S. sponsored attempts in the 1950's for "resettlement of refugees." They all failed.

President Carter has reneged on commitments previously made by the American government on the question of Palestine. The American government is on record as considering the annexation of Jerusalem, and the establishment of Zionist colonies in Palestinian land, to be illegal. This was nowhere mentioned in the accords. Nor in the accords can be found any mention of the U.S. position on the repatriation of Palestinian refugees to their homes, as called for in UN Resolution 194, a resolution that the U.S. is on record as having voted for in 1948, and reaffirmed every subsequent year.

President Sadat has simply sold out the Palestinians, reneged on Egypt's commitment to the resolutions of the Algiers and the Rabat Conferences that designated the P.L.O. as the sole official representative of the Palestinian people, and betrayed the Arab nation by agreeing to a separate settlement with Israel while Israel is still in military occupation of Arab lands.

This state of affairs, whether tragic or farcical, will not go unchallenged by the Palestinians. For at their command are not only the resources of the revolution, but also the will of the Palestinian people to continue their struggle till victory.

The three figures involved in the Camp David Summit obviously do not understand all of this. Menachem Begin, the racist, neo-fascist fanatic, and terrorist member of the Urgun Gang, is afflicted, like Vorster of South Africa and Smith of Rhodesia, with the blind disease of 19th century colonialism — when Third World people were being dismissed with racist contempt and their lands taken away from them with impunity. Anwar Sadat is a naive man with little grasp of historical dynamics or even a simple understanding of the rudiments of diplomacy, who sold out the Palestinians, took Egypt out of the Arab nation and got nothing in return for his troubles. And Jimmy Carter, as president of a Big Power, that conducts its policy

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Camp David: Was it a Sellout?

The results of the Camp David Summit were a one way victory for Israel and the United States. This is true not only because of what was achieved by Israel and the United States, but also by what was not achieved by Egypt. The two frameworks for "peace," the documents drawn up at the Summit, clearly show this dichotomy. Mr. Carter's popularity increased markedly after the summit, and Mr. Begin didn't compromise any of the issues which he considers vital to the state of Israel, and didn't agree to return any occupied land which he wasn't willing to give back in December 1977. The Israeli cabinet, as well as the Knesset, we now know has accepted the agreements resulting from the Camp David meeting. Sadat, on the other hand, claims victory but it is not clear yet what in fact he has achieved.

In order to identify the gains and losses, the achievements and the lack of achievements, for each of the parties of Camp David, the positions of each prior to their arrival at the Summit should be re-examined.

The West Bank and Gaza Strip:

The Israeli position was as follows: a) autonomy or limited self rule for the inhabitants of the two areas, b) no military withdrawal of Israel's army, c) no dismantling of the settlements established after the 1967 war, d) no Palestinian sovereignty on the West Bank and Gaza, e) continued Israeli presence in the area forever, and f) an undivided city of Jerusalem with continued Israeli sovereignty "eternally," as Begin says.

What compromises, if any, did Israel concede as a result of the Camp David Summit? In a review of the framework of Camp David dealing with the West Bank and Gaza there is found a restatement of the autonomy plan which calls for the transfer of authority in the West Bank and Gaza from the military governor to a "self governing authority". . . (which is to be) "freely" elected by the inhabitants of the two areas. A new element in the scheme is the role of the Government of Jordan and the role of United Nations forces. The Camp David agreement did not change the Israeli position regarding total withdrawal of Israel's forces from the West Bank and Gaza, nor did it call for the dismantling of existing Israeli settlements in the two regions.

Sovereignty over the occupied areas is to remain Israel's, and Jerusalem is to remain undivided under Israeli jurisdiction as well.

The proposed embargo on new Israeli settlements is, according to Mr. Begin, only for the three months of Egyptian-Israeli negotiations, after which time settlement can be continued and accelerated. Representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, the elected self governing authority, will have to be from amongst the population of these two areas, or "other Palestinians as mutually agreed" by Egypt, Israel, and Jordan. Israel, then, has a veto power over who these "other Palestinians" are and naturally will reject PLO supporters or anyone perceived by Israel to be unacceptable for any number of reasons.

In fact, this veto by Israel puts in total jeopardy the concept of "freely elected" representatives of the Palestinians for the purpose of self government. When Secretary Vance was questioned on September 18th about Israeli veto powers regarding the Palestinian representatives, he reiterated that the agreement calls for them to be "mutually agreed upon by the parties." As

far as the "withdrawal" of Israel's armed forces, there will be a "redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into "specified security locations." The term withdrawal is thus so qualified as to lose its real meaning, rather implying merely a shift in the location of the forces.

On September 18th Secretary Vance was asked by a reporter, "Is there anything in the agreement that requires the Israelis to totally withdraw from the area (West Bank and Gaza) after the five year period?" Mr. Vance's reply was "that still has to be negotiated." In reply to similar questions, Mr. Begin answered that he did not understand the agreement to require Israeli withdrawal of its armed forces after five years. He said, in fact, that Israel would not withdraw. Mr. Sadat, then, agreed to and is asking the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza to accept permanent Israeli occupation of their land. The Egyptian President is also asking the Palestinians to

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Camp David Accords: Negation of Palestinian Rights

by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod

The Camp David accords concerning the disposition of Israeli-occupied Sinai and the Palestinian areas of the West Bank and Gaza are not the first Arab-Israeli accords, nor are they likely to be the last.

Previous accords included the Weizmann-Faisal agreement of 1919, the armistice agreements of 1949-1950 and Israel's accord with the late King Abdullah of Jordan. These others ended in the ashes of Arab-Israeli wars. Is fate likely to be kinder this time?

According to the projections of the Camp David accords, the 60 years of struggle by the Palestinian people to preserve their national identity and to build a sovereign Palestinian state is now to be rewarded by a truncated Bantustan-like entity on portions of the West Bank and Gaza.

This castrated entity would include less than one-third of the Palestinian people, living on less than a fifth of Palestine. Even on such a truncated portion, military control by Israel would be uncontested, civilian Israeli entrenchment would be an Israeli prerogative and jurisdiction would be shared by Israel, Jordan, Egypt and "acceptable" (to Israel) elected representatives of the Palestinian inhabitants of these areas.

The 2.5 million Palestinians who now live in forced exile in the Arab world and beyond — some two-thirds of the Palestinian national community — are told to forget themselves and hail the new accords.

Nothing is as calculated to ignite an already turbulent Arab world. Not only do the Camp David accords ignore the Palestinians, but they also overlook the disposition of Syrian and Lebanese territory occupied by Israel; they implicitly accept the alienation of Arab Jerusalem, the third holiest city of the Islamic people, and they leave in doubt the sovereign status of part of Egypt's national domain.

It would have been wiser and more realistic for President Carter to have exerted his efforts in directions more consistent with the international consensus pertaining to the Middle East conflict. That consensus, expressed through the United Nations — to which the accords pay lip service — requires all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestinians as represented by the Palestine Liberation



Organization, to reach a comprehensive settlement, rather than a fragile bilateral agreement. The international consensus clearly prohibits the legitimization of annexation of any land obtained by military conquest and affirms the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homes and lands in Palestine and to an independent Palestinian state therein.

It would have been more prudent for President Carter to pay close attention to the Arab national consensus and to inspire accords that would be consistent with it. That consensus is clear on the questions of Palestine and of relations between Israel and the Arab states: Peaceful relations among the parties are predicated upon the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli military and civilian occupation of all Arab lands, on the restoration of Palestinian national rights, on the legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and on the assumption that real peace must be a consequence of a multilateral agreement between all parties to the conflict.

That President Carter induced President Sadat to sign a bilateral accord with Israel will undoubtedly mean continued, and disastrous, isolation of President Sadat in

the Arab world and will seriously affect the viability of the accords' implementation. That will have very serious repercussions regionally and internationally. The present negative Arab reaction to the accords and the already stated criticism of them by important world powers are early indications of the coming crisis in the Arab world. Without question the Arab states will be polarized, and whether a new Arab national consensus will emerge that would even tolerate the Camp David accords is very much in doubt.

This polarization and the failure of a new Arab national consensus to emerge will have very serious repercussions for the United States. After all, the United States has contributed immeasurably to the capacity of some of the Middle East states to wage war; it has contributed immeasurably to the reaching of an accord that is productive of a violent peace and therefore has become deeply entangled in the affairs of the Middle East.

New flareups will have costs not only to the people of the area, but also to those who fancy themselves as "full partners" in the Middle East quagmire.

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U.S. Denies Palestinians Freedom of Speech

On September 26, President Carter, answering a question about the PLO and Palestinian representatives in the U.S., declared "I wish they would go away." Carter echoed Begin and a long line of Zionist leaders who have both "wished" for and done their best to achieve the goal of having the Palestinians, a nation of 4 million, disappear.

Carter's words, coming at a time when the U.S. State Department has granted permission for Ian Smith to visit the U.S. on behalf of the illegal and racist government in Zimbabwe, raises questions about the Administration's commitment to justice and their definition of freedom of speech. In mid-September for example, the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darweesh applied for a visa to read his poetry at a Chicago convention of the United Holy Land Fund. After delaying their reply and asking Darweesh to withdraw his visa, the State Department denied Darweesh entry to the U.S. "at this time," according to a spokesman. The grounds were Article 27: 212A of the Immigration Act which denies "aliens" a visa if there is "reason to believe" that they "seek to enter the U.S. solely, partially or incidentally to engage in acts that would be prejudicial to public interests or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the U.S." When a poetry reading in Chicago is considered dangerous to security, civil liberties are indeed shaky. It should be noted that Darweesh, a major Palestinian cultural figure, is not a PLO official.

A U.S. official admitted in Beirut that the Camp David summit was behind his denial. Such a statement affirms that at the core of the Camp David agreements is the denial of Palestinian rights. To be sure, Palestinian leaders have been denied entrance to the U.S. before: Abdel Jawad Saleh, the deported mayor of Al-Bireh, was denied a visa to attend a human rights conference in the spring of 1978. But signs in the past month indicated that individual denials are becoming hardened policy. At this writing, some Palestinians who were to present papers at the annual convention of the Association of Arab Americans, have been denied visas.

These denials are not due to any "danger" to U.S. security or welfare. Rather, Palestinian views and the Palestinian voice might be seen as upsetting the precarious balance of promises and pressure between Israel, Egypt and the U.S. at this critical juncture in the Camp David negotiations.

Israel and Zionist advocates in the U.S. have mounted an intense campaign not only to deny Palestinians entry to the U.S., but to close down Palestinian offices and deport Palestinian spokespersons. At this point, it appears that the U.S. is more concerned with accomodating Israeli pressure than with human rights for Palestinians.

On September 11, for example, Congressman Stephen Solarz triumphantly announced that he had solicited a letter from the State Department (signed by Undersecretary Douglas Bennet) that affirmed that no PLO spokespersons will be allowed to visit the U.S. This may be a triumph for Zionism, and Solarz may win some votes among his Brooklyn constituency, but it is a defeat for freedom of speech.

Solarz is part of a core of legislators that have been seizing every opportunity to erode Palestinian rights. Senator Dole (R-Kansas), for example, recently presented a resolution in Congress condemning the PLO for killing Christians in Lebanon — without bothering to check the facts about the recent clashes in Lebanon. In the last six months, Palestinians have not fired one shot at the "Christian sector" of East Beirut. In fact, the PLO has kept dialogue and discussion going on with Christian leaders such as Suleiman Franjeh, Raymond Edde and President Elias Sarkis and has called for reconciliation in Lebanon on the basis of a new democratic government where Christians and Muslims work together. Many Palestinian leaders in the PLO, of course, are themselves Christians.

But the attack on Palestinians has little to do with facts. The *Near East Report*, a newsletter on U.S. policy in the Middle East which reflects the Zionist view, demanded in its October 11 issue that the U.S. close Palestinian offices and deport Palestinian representatives. They ignored the fact that Palestinian spokespersons and offices have complied with all aspects of the U.S. law and are engaged in the legal work of representing the PLO at the United Nations, as the U.N. has called upon it to do, and presenting the Palestinian point of view to the American public.

Indeed, it is this point of view, rather than any "illegal" activities that poses a threat to Zionism and the Zionist influence on American opinion. The Palestinian people are a progressive and democratic force in the Middle East, calling for a democratic

secular state in Palestine. This information is dangerous only to those who oppose a just solution in the Middle East.

Protests have begun over these anti-Palestinian actions by the U.S. A number of lawyers and poets telegrammed the State Department protesting the visa denial of Darweesh. The Association of Arab American Graduates is contemplating legal action if visas are not granted to Palestinians invited to their October convention.

A recent episode of CBS-TV's "Sixty Minutes" depicted the problems of Palestinians living and working in the U.S., and revealed cases of FBI and police harassment of Palestinians who were in no way PLO representatives. When ordinary people trying to build a life for their families are subject to harassment by the authorities, simply because of their national identity, this is discrimination. Combating this anti-Palestinian campaign, then, is part of the struggle to fight racism and discrimination wherever and whenever, they occur and to preserve fundamental human rights for all people.

Defiance

You may fasten my chains
Deprive me of my books and tobacco
You may fill my mouth with earth
Poetry will feed my heart, like blood
It is salt to the bread
And liquid to the eye
I will write it with nails, eye sockets
and daggers
I will recite it in my prison cell—
In the bathroom—
In the stable—
Under the whip—
Under the chains—
In spite of my handcuffs
I have a million nightingales
On the branches of my heart
Singing the song of liberation.

—Mahmoud Darweesh

Abourezk Calls Summit Agreements "Israeli Occupation by Another Name"

The following is from a September 19, 1978 speech on the floor of the U.S. Senate by Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota.

Amidst the euphoria of the moment, and in the face of the substantial media hype underway on the Middle East summit agreement, it is difficult to offer any analysis or conclusions on the agreement that differs from what seems to be a developing bandwagon in its favor.

I can recall the same sort of self-deluding congratulations at the time of the Sinai II agreement signing in 1975, when some of us expressed the fear that even that minimal, but separate agreement would tear apart the Arab world with tragic consequences for everyone involved.

Now we are presented with, and are asked to support, the final, separate peace agreement between Israel and Egypt that contains, in my view, the seeds of destruction of untold numbers of people in the Middle East, and the suffering of untold millions more.

I will try to outline the major points of the two agreements, both as I understand them from a reading, and from responses to questions directed to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance during their briefings of the Congress on Monday.

First of all, if the Knesset agrees to withdrawal of the settlements from the Sinai, a separate peace agreement between Israel and Egypt will become formalized.

The second agreement, which purportedly sets out a framework for peace in the Middle East, outlines how the future of the West Bank and Gaza is to be determined. The terms of that document provide for withdrawal of Israel's military forces in unspecified numbers from the West Bank, with part of that military force to remain within the West Bank area in "cantons." Again, this redeployment has no specific numbers. The agreement states that, immediately upon the election of the "Administrative Council" of the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn.

The agreements stand by themselves. In other words, the separate treaty between Egypt and Israel does not rise or fall, depending on the establishment of a final agreement regarding the Palestinians. Thus, if nothing more were to happen vis-a-vis the West Bank, the agreement between Egypt and Israel would remain in place.

With respect to settlements on the West Bank, while President Carter has said there



Israeli settlement in occupied West Bank

is a freeze during the period of negotiation on new settlements, he has also said there is no prohibition on the expansion of existing West Bank settlements, a practice which, in fact, Israel has undertaken in the past to avoid the appearance of new settlements being established.

The agreement itself is silent on the question of the settlements, so we must assume that Mr. Begin has unilaterally agreed to maintain the freeze. In any event, the new arrangements spelled out in the summit agreement are in total contradiction to our previous position on settlements and, in fact, are in total violation of the Geneva Civilians Convention of 1949, a treaty which the United States and all the parties at the recent summit have ratified long ago.

Article 49, paragraph 6, of that convention specifically states that "the occupying power shall not deport or transfer part of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

Article 47 of the same convention states that protected persons in the occupied territories cannot be deprived of the benefits of the convention by any change introduced, as a result of the occupation of a territory, into the institutions or government of the territory, nor by annexation, as in the case of Jerusalem, nor by any agreement between the authorities of the occupied territories, for example, a Quisling government, and the occupying power. We have always claimed the settlements were illegal, based on that convention, that is, until now.

The key point, however, is the concept of self-determination, or the lack of it, provided to the Palestinians in this agreement. The words of significance which run all the way through the document are the words, "by agreement of all the parties." "All the parties" refers primarily to Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian "Administrative Council."

Thus it is provided that all the parties must agree on the procedures for establishing the so-called self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel is given the right to veto those procedures. Israel is also given the right of veto over a number of other actions, such as:

1. which Palestinians other than those from the West Bank and Gaza may be included in the Egyptian and Jordanian delegations.
2. the nature of the so-called "self-governing authority" to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza.
3. which refugees displaced by the 1967 war can return to the West Bank and Gaza.
4. any decision made by the Palestinians on the grounds of security for Israel, which provision eliminates what little was left of the label "self-rule."
5. the final status, following the five year interim period, of the West Bank and Gaza. Specifically, and this is the most important point, Israel can veto a Palestinian decision establishing an independent Palestinian State.

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Statement of Kareem Khalaf, Mayor of Ramallah

September 20, 1978

Kareem Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah on the occupied West Bank, issued the following statement at a Washington, D.C. press conference on September 20, 1978. Mr. Khalaf, who was in the United States to attend several Palestinian conferences, was abruptly recalled to the West Bank by a phone call from the Israeli Assistant Military Governor.

Once again the cart has been placed before the horse. The Camp David summit is a big disappointment — maybe the disappointment of the century. The courage and the wisdom that the participants brought to the summit failed them when they sought to deal with the real issue—that from which all other problems stem. They shied away from the Palestinian problem in its trinity: the people, the land, and the leadership. Yet we are told that peace is around the corner.

The thirteen days that were spent at Camp David culminated in the realization of a Zionist dream. And that could not have been achieved without a sellout of the Palestinian cause, and possibly even of the Arab cause itself, by Anwar Sadat. We only deceive ourselves if we believe that peace is near. I am sure that after this wave of sensationalism and euphoria has subsided, Sadat, Begin, President Carter and all of the world will then realize that unfortunately peace is still far away.

We base our evaluation and conclusion on the Camp David Agreements on the following:

1. The summit did, in fact, reach a separate peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, while this is what Sadat always insisted on avoiding.

2. The Camp David Agreements left the main issue unresolved — the future of the Palestinians and the participation of the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

3. The main issue has become secondary and the less important one has prevailed.

4. Camp David once again proved that the policy of dividing the Arab world and keeping it in disarray is the only method according to the Zionists through which Israel's security can be sustained. It is outdated thinking on the part of those who dream and plot to subjugate the Arabs.

The travesty of Camp David not only disregarded human rights by ignoring the existence of the Palestinians as a people and their right to a state on their land, but it also added insult to injury by excluding the true

and only representative of the Palestinians from participating in the determination of the future and destiny of the Palestinian people.

We firmly believe that the only outcome of the summit is that Egypt has been taken away from the sphere of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that Israeli security —according to the two documents — has been protected.

Therefore, we the Palestinians living in our homeland, under the occupation of the Israeli military rule, criticize in the strongest terms the two documents that have been initialed by Sadat and Begin at the behest of Carter.

These two documents represent the thinking of Sadat only — the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular have shown time and again that he has no right to speak on their behalf.

Let me draw your attention to a recent event, the resignation of Sadat's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kamal, in protest and disagreement with these two documents. May I also note that the platform on which we have been elected by our people to run the municipal affairs of the cities and towns in the occupied territories states, in part, that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people and that those who opposed us on a different platform were defeated.

Now the Camp David summit wants to

take even this simple right away from our people. Yet we are told it is the framework of future peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen, peace, true peace, can only be achieved by recognizing the Palestinian people, their right to exist in the state on their land, represented by their only representatives, the PLO.

Peace can only be achieved through unconditional withdrawal by Israel.

We address the whole world today and tell them that our people will continue to struggle in the West Bank against Israeli occupation and against the so-called autonomous rule in order to achieve their rights that have been acknowledged through the United Nations and the vast majority of the world.

We appeal to all of you to expose this travesty. We appeal to all who love peace not to be deceived by these two documents that have given the Zionists all that they want and deprived the Palestinian people of their basic rights.

Camp David was a triumph for Israel and a dire defeat for the Palestinians and the Arab cause. That is why we are against it. We will struggle to defeat it, knowing that we are not alone in our quest.

The future belongs to people, all people, and not to impostors like Sadat. Jews, Muslims, and Christians must live as equals and at peace in Palestine.



Palestinian Human Rights Campaign Chairman Jim Zogby and Ramallah Mayor Kareem Khalaf at Washington, D.C. Press Conference.

Protestors Call Camp David a "Framework for War"

In the weeks following the Camp David summit, groups across the country have rallied to oppose the agreements and demand self-determination for the Palestinian people. On September 20, as the Palestine Liberation Organization called for a general strike in the occupied territories and throughout the world, a Washington, D.C. coalition held a six-hour vigil on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. Their leaflets asked the "American people to join in a worldwide appeal for Palestinian rights as the only framework for genuine peace in the Middle East."

This theme was reiterated in other protests. On September 21, a spokesperson for a coalition of Palestinian, Lebanese, Egyptian and American groups in Boston called the Camp David agreement "nothing more than the old hard line Begin plan under which so-called autonomy amounts to less than granting Palestinians a Bantustan along South African lines." The group warned that Camp David was a "prelude to war" and accurately predicted that the

"flashpoint" would be Lebanon.

In New York City on September 20, 60 people picketed across from the United Nations in solidarity with the Palestinian general strike against Camp David. 300 spirited demonstrators, on September 23, marched to the U.S., Israeli and Egyptian missions to the U.N. The demonstrators rallied under the slogans "No to the Carter-Begin-Sadat pact against the Palestinians!" "Yes to the Palestine Liberation Organization!" "Yes to Palestinian self-determination!" The American Arab Society in Dallas, which represents hundreds of Americans of Arab descent, also stressed support of the PLO in a telegram to President Jimmy Carter, writing. "No just and lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East unless first, the Palestinians are represented by their legitimate leadership, the Palestine Liberation Organization so recognized by the vast majority of the world community and unanimously upheld by all Palestinians in and outside their occupied homeland."

The New York demonstrators struck at the heart of the matter for concerned Americans when they warned that the Camp David agreements were "hardly the heralds of peace, in fact, they are omens of an increased danger of direct U.S. involvement in war in the Middle East." In this, these first protests against the Camp David agreements are reminiscent of the early demonstrations against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, where a minority saw through the optimism of official White House pronouncements about impending peace to warn of what became a national tragedy. Also like the early anti-war groups, those who have spoken out against Camp David evince a determination to continue a campaign for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, instead, of the U.S. imposition on the region of, as the Association of Arab American University Graduates termed the Camp David agreements, "a blueprint for more conflict and violence."

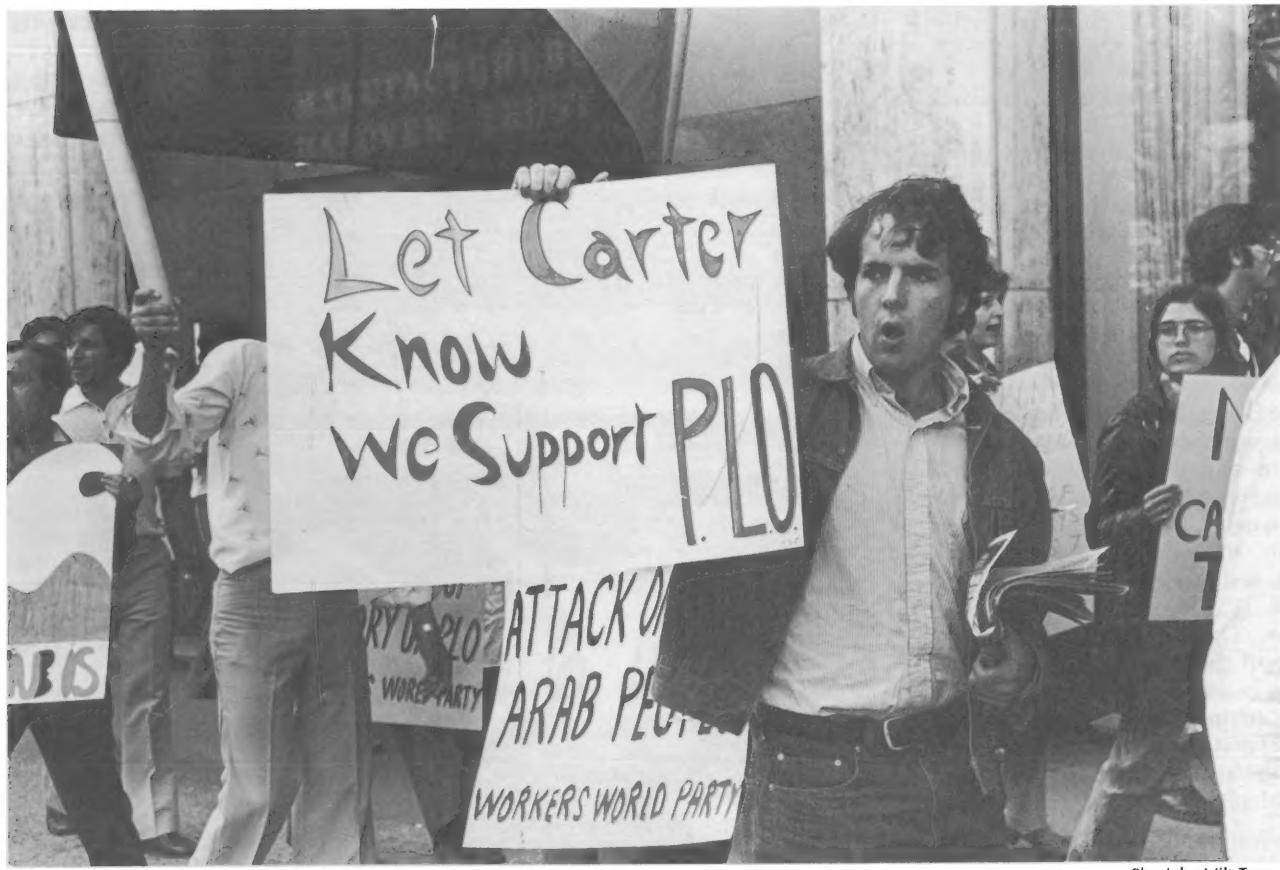


Photo by Milt Taam

New York City, Sept. 23, 1978. Demonstration organized by Palestine Solidarity committee to protest Camp David.
300 protesters marched to U.S., Israeli, Egyptian Missions to U.N.

Conference in Solidarity with Palestine Held in Washington

"The Palestinians: A Struggle for Survival and Freedom," a two day conference held September 29-30 in Washington, D.C. explored the Palestinian situation today in all its aspects. During the first session, "Palestinians Under Occupation," Fatima Bernawi, who had been held in Israeli prison for ten years because of her militant activity, summarized the theme of the speakers when she remarked: "Palestinians do not know the word impossible."

Another speaker, Dr. Hanna Nasir, President of Bir Zeit University, talked of the "double challenge of Palestinian education: that of liberation and development." He elaborated on not only outside problems of Israeli determination to stop both, but also on the internal difficulties faced by Palestinian educators. One main problem he said is that there is an overproduction of poorly trained engineers and lawyers and not enough of the research scientists needed for the technological and social development of a country.

That same evening, attendents of the conference had the opportunity to experience the "Poetry of Palestine" in both Arabic and English, ready by the poets themselves. Fawzi El Asmar recited poetry in Arabic from his book *Poems from an Israeli Prison* and from his soon to be published book *Dreams on the Mattress of Thorns*. Fawaz Turki chose English because, as he put it, "I have been living in the ghourba for the last 18 years." Although he read a few selections from his new collection, *Tel Zaatar was the Hill of Thyme*, most of what he read was inspired by the recent Camp David talks. Laila Jammal also recited a few selections from her new book *El Wasiya*.

Artist Kamal Boulatta, who is due to come out with a book of poems that he compiled "Women of the Fertile Crescent: An Anthology of Modern Poetry of Arab Women," was chairman of the poetry session. He mediated between each reading with brief descriptions about the history and nature of Arabic poetry. "Poetry began in the desert. . . The poet was considered as a sort of magician, soothsayer, and associated with good luck, especially when the tribe sought water."

Boulatta ended the session by announcing a documentary film "The Roots Never Die," which was shown immediately afterwards. The U.N. award-winning film reviewed the chronology of the Arab-Israeli conflict with alternate scenes of war and interviews with those affected by the devastation. The film was done by the Palestine Cinema Institute, which is based in Beirut, Lebanon.

Also at the session, and throughout the two days of the conference, was a photo



Zeinab Sha'ath



Dr. Hanna Nasir

exhibit by United Nations Relief and Work Agency, Mokhless Al-Hariri Rifai and the Palestine Cinema Institute. The photographs depicted the ruins, refugee camps, and grief-stricken women and children of the Palestine and Lebanon area. "If it is true that a picture tells a thousand words then volumes of analysis cannot tell the story of war as these pictures do," said one student observer.

Among the speakers at the first lecture on Sunday morning was Dr. Abdullah Abu Hassan, Vice President of the Palestine Red Crescent in Beirut. He commented on the growth and improvement of the medical organization that went from handling emergency cases to dealing with preventative medicine. Minimal fees are charged to those who can afford to pay them, he said, stressing that the Red Crescent does not discriminate; a recent survey showed that only 30% of the patients are Palestinian.

In addition, Wijdan Siam, head of the social welfare department talked of the philosophy of dealing with a war stricken society. "You do not just give people charity," she said. "It must be a give and take situation." She gave an example of the women that are brought in and trained to do handicrafts. Their work is sold to the outside world to help them provide for themselves. She also spoke of her work within the Palestine National Council (of which Mr. Abu Hassan is also a member). The PNC is a body of 290 representatives from a number of social organizations that determine the policy of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The afternoon lecture session focused on "Palestinian Women in the Struggle." The

two women, Fatima Bernawi and Wijdan Siam again spoke, this time about the importance of the Palestinian women within the revolution. They cited the many difficulties the Palestinian woman has in trying to provide dually for her family and for the struggle. They emphasized her perseverance and immense "love for children." After the bilingual lecture, the audience asked questions ranging from sociological to highly philosophical.

One question asked was "What are the specific differences between the Palestinian and other women in the Arab world?" Ms. Siam replied to this, elaborating on the hardship of refugeeism and the lack of any type of "luxury" for the Palestinian woman. Another question posed by an Arab woman artist was "Do you not agree with me that we must work together in trying to redefine the male image of superiority and of God that exists?" Ms. Bernawi replied, "God for me never has been a male figure, nor a female figure. We as Palestinian women must work together with our men in equal strength."

Sunday evening several of the lecture speakers in addition to area Arab-Americans gave short solidarity messages after dinner. The quiet, yet emotion filled banquet ended with a standing ovation for Zeinab Sha'ath, the young Palestinian folk singer who lit up the stage with her guitar and songs that affirmed Palestinian identity. Ms. Sha'ath will be performing at the Arab American University Graduates Convention to be held the end of this month in Minneapolis.

The conference was supported by a

(Continued on page 10)

Palestinian Folk Troupe Concludes Successful Tour in U.S.



Senator James Abourezk and the Palestinian Folk Troupe

The 21 Palestinian teenagers that comprise the Palestinian Folktroupe have demonstrated in performances in over 20 U.S. cities the vibrancy of Palestinian culture. Traditional melodies, themes and dances both celebrate Palestinian folk culture and incorporate new dimensions of Palestinian experience, like the sufferings of exile and the renewal of national Palestinian identity.

A *Washington Post* reviewer contrasted the "flinty spontaneity" of the Troupe with other folk troupes who were "heavily packaged for commercial consumption" and said "it was very refreshing to experience it (folk music and dance) in such unvarnished guise." The members of the Troupe brought this same spontaneity and warmth to their numerous conversations and encounters the American and Arab-

American communities. All come from the "Children's Happiness" School in Lebanon, founded in 1958 by the Palestine Arab Women's Union for orphaned children. The Troupe's joy both in performance and in life attest that the school lives up to its name.

The Palestinian Folk Troupe will be remembered for a long time by their audiences, and in turn, the Troupe will remember the hospitality extended to them across America. Their tour was made possible by the commitment and work of numerous community groups and individuals and of course, by the United Holy Land Fund and its local chapters, which sponsored the tour. The Troupe will have a final performance in New York City on November 5. For more information please call the United Holy Land Fund, 312-782-7274.

Brezhnev Condemns Camp David

On October 5, Leonid Brezhnev, leader of the U.S.S.R., made the following remarks at a dinner honoring Syria's President, Hafez Assad:

"We have said more than once and we would like to say it once again most definitely: The road of separate talks and concessions to the aggressor does not bring peace any closer. It only still further aggravates the situation in the Middle East. There will be no reliable peace in the Middle East until the causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict are removed, until the

consequences of Israeli aggression are eliminated.

"The organizers of separate deals act as if there were no other Arab countries in the Middle East besides Egypt, whose leadership obediently bows to American-Israeli dictation. The Arabs, however, are no submissive pawns in a game, but the makers of their own destiny. No one will succeed in ensuring a firm settlement of the conflict in the Middle East without them, for them and contrary to their legitimate rights and interests.

Israelis Arm Somoza Regime

As the death toll rises in Nicaragua, where dictator Anastasio Somoza is attempting to maintain his rule by crushing a broad-based popular opposition, Israel continues to supply Somoza with arms. Somoza's National Guard used these arms last month to occupy Nicaraguan cities and attempt to suppress the September general strike by imposing a reign of terror.

Israeli cooperation with Nicaragua was consolidated in 1966, according to the Israeli Center of Cooperation and Labor Studies for Latin America, when the Israeli government signed a cooperation treaty with Somoza. By 1976, the International Institute for Strategic Studies reported that Israel had become a "primary arms supplier to Nicaragua."

The German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* described one such shipment in its May 9, 1978 issue: "The Israeli ship Yaffo, loaded with light artillery, heavy mortar launchers, heavy machine guns, patrol boats and several combat helicopters, has arrived in Nicaragua. Several other ships carrying weapons have already left Israel for Central America. Allegedly these weapons are to be used by (Somoza's) National Guard which are already excellently equipped with U.S. weapons."

At a September conference in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, held in Panama, opposition leaders told the American delegates that Israeli mercenaries were involved in training the National Guard. Indeed, all evidence points to an increasing role for the Israeli arms industry and military in propping up repressive Latin American regimes. In a July visit to Chile, that caused concern that Israel would strengthen the Chilean army, Israeli Major General Gur, as reported in *Ha'aretz* of August 10, defended Pinochet's regime.

Conference (Continued from page 9)
 number of American and Arab organizations such as: the Middle East Resource and Information Project; the Palestine Solidarity Committee; the Palestine Human Rights Campaign; the Ramallah Federation; the Association of Arab American University Graduates; the Union of Arab Women; and the Arab Cultural Center.

One law student, who attended the two day conference, commented on its significance, saying,

"Because I am a Palestinian, I was already familiar with much of what was discussed. But I was very impressed with the breadth of the conference and the wide range of topics covered. Anyone not familiar with the Arab-Israeli conflict and the present day situation of the Palestinians, would have found this to be an extremely informative event."

Declaration of the Mayors and Leaders of the Occupied West Bank and Gaza

The following statement was issued October 1, 1978 from Jerusalem and signed by over 200 West Bank mayors and leaders.

In solidarity with the Palestinian people everywhere, and after reviewing the "Camp David" agreements, we affirm our total rejection of these agreements. These agreements strengthen Sadat's policies of surrender and defeat the political gains won by the Palestinian Arab people through sacrifice and struggle, gains supported by the Algiers and Rabat Arab Summit Conferences and the United Nations General Assembly. Moreover, Sadat aims at defeating the Arab Liberation Movement in general and at isolating it from its allies in the international liberation struggle, and wants to subject the area to neo-colonialism.

Sadat's policies will increase tensions in the area and will subject it to Cold War confrontation and to control by neo-colonialism.

The "self-government" proposals for the occupied West Bank and Gaza only legitimize Israeli occupation and strengthen it. We thus consider it a plot against our people's inalienable rights to self-determination and to national independence in an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the P.L.O., the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Our people have warned more than once against Sadat's policies of surrender that will lead to a separate Egyptian peace with Israel, to dividing the Arab ranks and to liquidating the Palestinian cause. Realizing these facts and committed to the Palestinian Arab national responsibility, the Palestinian people in the occupied territories affirm the following:

1. The Palestinian Arab people inside and outside occupied Palestine are one; united through history, destiny and struggle.

2. The "self-government" proposal is totally rejected in form and content because it strengthens Israeli occupation and perpetuates Israeli oppression of our people.

3. The Palestinian people affirm and insist that the P.L.O. is its sole, legitimate representative and refuse any trusteeship or alternative, no matter in what form or shape.

4. We look forward to a just and lasting peace in the area, achieved only through our people's exercise of their right to self-determination and national independence, after total Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories and after establishing an independent Palestinian state.

5. Arab Palestinian sovereignty must return to Arab Jerusalem which is an

indivisible part of the West Bank. This is a historical and spiritual cause which cannot be compromised.

Signed by all mayors of occupied West Bank and Gaza towns and villages, as well as heads of professional, trade, and other unions, and individual leaders and officials in the West Bank.



Photo Credit: Milt Taam

New York City demonstration, September 1978

Damascus Summit Calls for Arab Solidarity

In a top-level meeting in Damascus last month, the five members of the "Front of Steadfastness" — Algeria, Syria, Libya, South Yemen and the PLO — issued a total condemnation of the Camp David agreements and adopted a plan of action to oppose the results of Camp David. The Front strongly stressed that the Camp David agreements "will only lead to intensification of tension in the area and to subjecting world peace and international security to the gravest danger." President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, in signing the accords, violated "the Arab League's charter, the joint Arab defense treaty and the resolutions of the Arab summit conferences." The Front referred specifically to the 1974 Rabat conference which united the Arab states behind the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Sadat, thus, "had no authority to represent the Palestinian people and the Arab nation," and therefore, the Front considers the Camp David agreements "null void and illegal." In content, the Front analyzed the agreements as a plan "to keep the West Bank and Gaza as a colony under the domination of the Zionist occupation forces and to annex Jerusalem as the capital of Israel."

The conference adopted a number of resolutions to oppose the Camp David agreements, including:

- A. To reject and condemn the agreements and results of Camp David and to stress our determination to oppose them and to continue the struggle by every means against Zionism and imperialism.
- B. To consider these capitulationist agreements as illegal and null and void as they abandon Arab and Palestinian rights and especially as these agreements were concluded and signed under conditions in which force is used in the Zionist occupation and in the continuation of this occupation.
- C. To approve the declaration of the principles, the objectives and the institutions of the National Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation.
- D. To determine the strategy of the next phase on the following bases:
- I. Not to recognize the legality of the Camp David agreements and to reject everything resulting there from it.
- II. To back the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.
- III. To pool the resources of the Arab nation and to achieve Arab solidarity on the basis of fighting Zionism and the Camp David results and to face up to this phase and the grave dangers and great harm it entails for the main objectives of the Arab nation.
- IV. To warn the world public of the danger of the Camp David agreements to peace and security in the area and the world.
- V. To call upon the Arab states to assume their national responsibilities, to adopt firm stands against the Camp David results, to face up to the coming critical phase, to join and cooperate with the front of steadfastness.
- E. To break off economic and political relations with the Egyptian regime, including Egyptian establishments and companies, and to apply the decisions of the Arab boycott against Israel to all individuals dealing with enemy.
- G. To condemn the imperialist policy of the United States, its alliance with the Zionist enemy and Al-Sadat's regime, and its continuation of a policy hostile to the rights and goals of the Arab nation. This has made the United States an enemy and it cannot be regarded as a mediator in the efforts made to achieve a just peace in the Arab area. The United States should bear the grave consequences resulting from, or which will result from, the Camp David conference.
- H. To work to obtain the greatest possible international support of the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation and to consolidate cooperation with the socialist countries, foremost of which is the Soviet Union, for the sake of protecting the independence of the Arab countries and preserving their freedom and progress and the gains of the Arab liberation movement.



Palestinians in Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip shout "Long live the PLO" at rally against peace talks.

UPI

Questions and Answers about Camp David

Q: How do the Palestinians view the Camp David accords?

A: From the outset, the Palestinians, both inside and outside Palestine, were opposed to the summit — as they were to the Sadat initiative — for a great many reasons. Foremost among them was the fact that any negotiations dealing with the Palestinians must necessarily involve the Palestinians themselves and this means the PLO. Hence, when Sadat visited Jerusalem last year, indirectly recognizing Israel and endowing Zionism with legitimacy in Palestine, he was recognizing and legitimizing the two agents of oppression against the Palestinian people. And, in like manner, when Camp David was convened, the destiny of the Palestinian people was being negotiated in the absence of the Palestinians by three men who had no authority. Palestine is a Palestinian affair and the aspirations of the Palestinian people will be addressed only by the representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO.

Q: But the media has hailed Camp David as a success and a step towards peace?

A: Camp David was trumpeted as being a summit setting out to resolve the broad design of conflict in the area, namely the national conflict between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism and the territorial conflict between the Arab states and Israel. This, the summit did not do and thus, it was a failure. As it happened, the accords addressed themselves exclusively to a peripheral component of that conflict, which is the Sinai desert, with the question of Palestine and the destiny of the Palestinian people remaining in limbo.

Camp David was a success, however, from the viewpoint of Israel and the United States. By negotiating separately with Egypt, and thus isolating it from the other Arab states, Israel was able to reduce the military potential of the Arabs and reduce their ability to negotiate from a position of strength, which means that Israel's hand is strengthened to tighten its military occupation of Arab lands and to perpetuate the *status quo*. The accords were also a success from the point of view of the United States. With Egypt isolated from the scheme of things, and with the Arab world divided, U.S. political and economic interests have a better chance of being protected.

Q: Yet the U.S. government claims that the Camp David summit indeed addressed

itself to Palestinian rights and points to a clause in the accords that deals with "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

A: The phrase is meaningless in this context because of the way "rights" are interpreted. It was Menahem Begin himself, in a statement made subsequent to the summit, who said that these rights mean "absolutely nothing," because, according to him, "we have our own interpretation."

But beyond that, the accords do not contain in them even the minimal semblance of justice for the Palestinians. The Palestinians will not be permitted to establish a state of their own even on the 21% remnant of their country in the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, is not to be party to any negotiations. Israeli troops may stay forever in the region, though deployed in different areas. Israeli functionaries will remain the arbiters of Palestinian concerns and retain a veto over all crucial decisions. Neither Jerusalem nor Palestinians living outside Palestine are mentioned. And sovereignty, including the right to establish settlements in the territories, will remain the exclusive domain of Israel.

Of course, the statements made by Begin, explaining Israel's interpretation of the accords, leave no doubt that the Camp David summit merely formalized the *status quo* of Israel's rule of the gun in Palestine, with mere cosmetic changes to give the illusion of meaningful change.

Q: There has been talk about "moderate Palestinians" from the West Bank and Gaza as being the leadership that will negotiate a settlement. Who are these people?

A: These people do not exist outside the wishful thinking of Zionist leaders and the U.S. They are a projected leadership to be hand picked by the occupation authorities. Predictably enough, should such a "leadership" be chosen, it will be formed of Quislings and collaborators with no standing, influence, or following in the territories. Virtually all influential Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, from mayors to intellectuals, from community leaders to professionals, have long since demonstrated their allegiance to the PLO, and it is doubtful that the occupation authorities could really even form, let alone make viable, such a Quisling leadership that would carry weight in a negotiating team.

Let's keep in mind that it is a tradition of

colonial or settler colonial regimes to bypass the legitimate representatives of a colonized people and to impose an alternative one on them. A similar attempt has been made in Zimbabwe, where the popular leadership of the Patriotic Front has been ignored and a Quisling leadership headed by the Reverend Muroweza, was formed. This of course, is doomed to failure, if for no other than that the false leadership has no following or support among the Zimbabwean masses.

Q: So what next for the Palestinians, now that they have been betrayed again?

A: One thing is clear. There have been many attempts in the past to sell out the Palestinians, but the Palestinians and their struggle for freedom have remained the one immutable fact in the political life of the Middle East. This struggle will go on long after Camp David is relegated to the footnote it is destined to be in the history of the Palestinians.

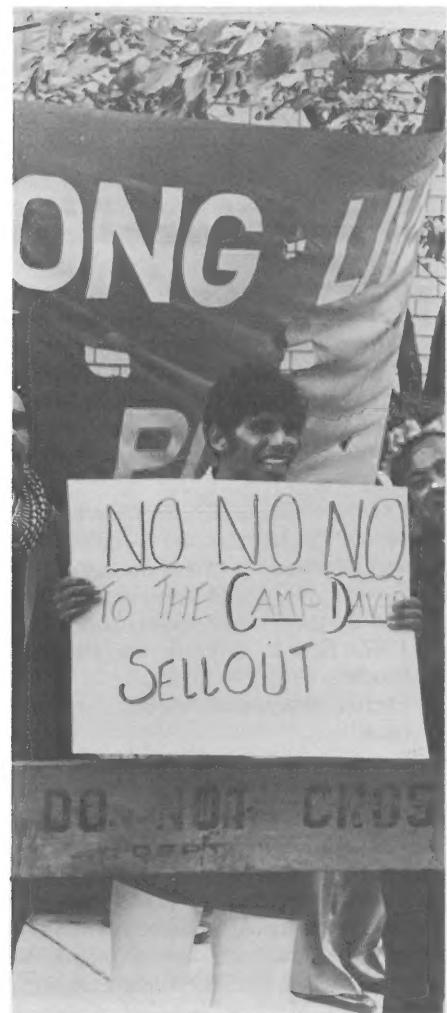


Photo by Milt Taam

Palestine Perspectives' Reading Guide to the Palestine Conflict and to the Arab-Israeli Dispute

1. Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening*. New York: Putnam, 1965. 471 p. History of Arab peoples' struggle against Ottoman, British, French oppression and rise of Arab nationalist movement.
2. Deutscher, Isaac. *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays*. London: Oxford Univ., 1968. 164 p. Jewish humanist thinker speculates on role of Jewish people in modern history.
3. Selzer, Michael, ed. *Zionism Reconsidered: The Rejection of Jewish Normalcy*. New York: Macmillan, 1970. 259 p. Collection of old and new essays by non-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jewish writers.
4. Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, ed. *The Transformation of Palestine*. Evanston: Northwestern Univ., 1971. 521 p. Detailed and analytical papers by well known specialists in their fields on land alienation in, and expulsion of Palestinians from Palestine.
5. Khalidi, Walid, ed. *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionist and the Palestine Problem until 1948*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971. 914 p. Comprehensive papers, documents, speeches of great historical significance, relating to struggle for Palestine from 1850's to 1948.
6. Taylor, Alan R. *Prelude to Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. 136 p. Excellent historical survey of roots and theoretical background of Zionism by well known authority on subject.
7. Stevens, Richard M. *American Zionism and United States Foreign Policy, 1942-1947*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970. 236 p. Factual analysis of seldom discussed issue.
8. Abu-Ghazaleh, Adnan Mohammed. *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973. 114 p. Very interesting survey of Palestinian writers, nationalists, pamphleteers and activists who contributed greatly to understanding of Palestinian culture.
9. Rodison, Maxime. *Israel: A Colonial Settler State?* New York: Pathfinder, 1973. 125 p. Excellent introductory primer by well known Jewish-French scholar on history of Arab-Israeli dispute.
10. Hattis, Susan Lee. *The Bi-National Idea in Palestine during Mandatory Times*. Tel Aviv: Shikmona, 1970. 355 p. Detailed, though at times incoherent, analysis of the subject.
11. El-Kodsy, Ahmad, and Eli Lobel. *The Arab World and Israel*. New York: Monthly Review, 1970. 137 p. Marxist interpretation of struggle for Palestine by Egyptian and Israeli ideologues respectively.
12. Schleifer, Abdullah. *The Fall of Jerusalem*. New York: Monthly Review, 1972. 247 p. First hand, first person report on the fall of the Palestinian city in the 1967 war by American Jewish convert to Islam.
13. Turki, Fawaz. *The Disinherited: Journal of A Palestinian Exile*. New York: Monthly Review, 1972. 188 p. Cogent first person narrative of what it is like to grow up as a Palestinian exile.
14. Stetler, Russell, ed. *Palestine: The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. San Francisco: Ramparts, 1972. 297 p. Collection of articles, documents on post-1967 struggle by Palestinians for freedom.
15. Sharabi, Hisham. *Palestine Guerrillas: Their Credibility and Effectiveness*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1970. 64 p. Detailed narrative of reemergence of the Palestinian politico-military movement following June 1967 war.
16. Quandt, William B., Fuad Jabber and Ann Mosely Lesch. *The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism*. Berkely: Univ. of California, 1973. 234 p. Scholarly, though not often sympathetic, portrait of Palestinian national struggle.
17. Quandt, William B. *A Decade of Decision*. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1976. 350 p. Study of American foreign policy in the Middle East from Johnson to Ford. At times revealing of inner workings of State Department policy-making machine.
18. Hirst, David. *The Gun and the Olive Branch*. New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977. 367 p. Sympathetic, understanding of the history and roots of struggle by Palestinians against Zionist settler colonialism from the early days to the present.
19. Bonds, Joy, Jimmy Emerman, Linda John, Penny Johnson and Paul Rupert. *Our Roots Are Still Alive*. San Francisco: Peoples Press, 1977. 189 p. Moving portrait of daily life and struggle by Palestinians for survival and freedom. Excellently illustrated.
20. Waines, David. *A Sentence of Exile*. Wilmette: Medina, 1977. 226 p. History of struggle for Palestine from 1897 with good bibliography.
21. Abboushi, W.F. *The Angry Arabs*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974. 285 p. History of modern Palestine by Palestinian scholar and a detailed study of Arab-Western relations.
22. Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim, and Baha Abu-Laban, ed. *Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World: The Illusion of Endurance*. Wilmette: Medina Univ., 1974. 255 p. Collection of papers delivered at 1973 AAUG annual conference. Excellent study of images and perceptions of peoples of *terra media*.

New Book

"Treatment of Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza."

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Camp David. . . (Continued from page 3)

simply give up on the principle of ever living in freedom in their own country.

Concerning Jerusalem, Mr. Sadat was willing to negotiate the future of the city away forever as well. Jerusalem, according to Israel, is the eternal capital of the State. Begin stated and continues to state that the city will never be divided again. At some point at Camp David there was a suggestion that an Arab flag — not a Palestinian flag — be raised in the city. The Israeli negotiating team, and Dayan in particular, took pride in completely rejecting such an idea since, he said, it would be like raising an Arab flag over the Knesset. In the news conference with Secretary of State Vance, a reporter asked Mr. Vance about Jerusalem and was told that "there will be an exchange of letters with respect to Jerusalem" and when the letters are completed they will be released. These letters have thus far not been released basically because of Mr. Begin's very uncompromising position that the city is Israel's capital and will not be divided.

The agreement covering the West Bank

and Gaza repeatedly mentions the "inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza" but fails to consider the rights of the more than 1.5 million other Palestinians still spread around the Middle East. The framework which was signed by Mr. Sadat refers to the signatories, i.e., Egypt, Israel, and Jordan and the so-called self governing authority as the constituents of a committee to deal with displaced persons. It states precisely that the "Committee (will) decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967." Measures should be taken, however, to "prevent disruption and disorder" which may result from the admission of these displaced persons.

The above clause not only ignores the Palestinians who have been displaced since 1948 and the majority of others displaced in 1967, but injects two other qualifications. First, that any admission of a displaced person is conditional upon the agreement of all parties including Israel, and second that

necessary measures be taken to prevent disorder and disruption. Any person labeled as potentially disruptive can be excluded, regardless of the proof or lack of proof for the accusation. This again gives Israel a complete veto power over who could and who could not be admitted back into the West Bank and Gaza. In paragraph four on page six of the agreement, it reads that Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures "to implement the resolution of the refugee problem."

The Palestinian problem, Mr. Sadat should be reminded, is not a problem of refugees anymore. It is a problem of a people displaced from their homeland by force and now struggling to regain their land and their right to self-determination by all available means, including the means used successfully by other people under similar circumstances. The Palestinian people, Mr. Sadat should also recall, have chosen their representatives and the institutions which they want to speak for them in negotiations. It is the PLO, and not Anwar Al-Sadat.

Abourzek. . . (Continued from page 6)

This interpretation was confirmed to me by Secretary Vance, who told me that Israel not only could veto such a state, but, he said, Israel very likely would exercise such a veto to prevent a Palestinian State from coming into existence.

So, Mr. President, the dreaded hour has finally arrived, the separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, which President Sadat swore would not come from him, and for which Israel has hoped for so long a time. It is a revival of the "Begin Plan" of last November which was rejected out of hand by President Sadat. It is the exchange of a great deal of sand in the Sinai for the elimination of Egypt as any kind of negotiating threat. It is the ratification of the

expansionist dreams of Israel.

Now, with the inclusion of President Carter, what was reprehensible last year has now become a "great victory." The continued denial of self-determination for the Palestinians is given a sheen and a gloss designed to cover over what it really is — an Israeli occupation under a different name, but this time with a Quisling government to make legal what was previously illegal. What other name can honestly be given to such an arrangement, conceived by the occupying power, Israel, and approved by the United States and Egypt, the only two powers who might have prevented it?

This action not only denies the right of self-determination to the Palestinians, but

its result can only be large-scale disruption throughout the Arab world. Without Egypt, the military balance will be tipped overwhelmingly in favor of Israel. Too weak militarily to threaten, or even to negotiate on an equal basis, the remaining members of the Arab bloc will, in all probability, suffer deep divisions amongst themselves. Radicalism, and all that comes with it, will be greatly encouraged, since it is the only real alternative left to people who have been denied a normal political outlet. The upheavals will reverberate throughout the Middle East, and the cost in human suffering in that part of the world simply to raise President Carter's popularity rating here at home will not, I think, be worth it.

Editorial. . . (Continued from page 2)

around the world, from Nicaragua to Iran, without a politico-moral impulse, showed neither compassion for, nor understanding of, the aspirations of the people of Palestine.

Moreover, here was the spectacle of three men, an Egyptian, a Pole and an American, sitting together with their delegations to decide the political destiny of the Palestinian people without the presence of a single Palestinian leader — a reminder that the 19th century colonial *modus operandi* is not dead.

None of the nonsense in the Camp David accords is binding in any way on the Palestinians. Like the other nonsense before it, it is

destined for, and will end up in, the historical dustbin.

President Carter, in his address to the Joint Session of Congress, on September 18, in reference to peace in the Middle East, along the lines of the Camp David framework said: "The guns will now fall silent. The bombs will no longer fall."

That will be the case only when the people of Palestine again live in their country, in freedom, independence and sovereignty. The Palestinian people's struggle is already 60 years old. It will go on, if need be, for the next sixty or the next six hundred years.

★ ★ ★

LITERATURE LIST

The following books, pamphlets and posters are available from the Palestine Information Office. Bulk rates are available upon request.

Richard Stevens and A. El-Messiri, *Israel and South Africa* \$4.00

A. El-Messiri, *The Land of Promise: A Critique of Political Zionism* \$4.00

Peoples Press, *Our Roots Are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People* \$3.50

Felicia Langer, *These Are My Brothers* (in Arabic) \$4.00

Fawaz Turki, *The Disinherited* \$4.00

Permanent Committee for Palestinian Deportees, *Enforced Exile* \$1.00

Free Palestine, *Tal Al-Zaatar, The Fight Against Fascism* \$4.00

Paintings by Ismail Shamout...\$1.00 each

Hani Jouhariaya's Photos \$15.00 for packet of 18 photos

Poster: Palestinians Have Human Rights Too \$1.00

Palestine Flag on Key Chain \$4.00



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